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ABSTRACT

Conducted with 1500 randomly selected Ethiopian twelfth grade students, this study explored reasons for student alienation in Ethiopia. Data were collected through a self-administered questionnaire. Findings indicated that students are more alienated when they perceive the school environment to be closed. Students who were more anxious about passing the highly selective Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination were more alienated than those less anxious, suggesting that this test is a cause of alienation. Students in institutions with lower prestige felt more alienated, reflecting perhaps their knowledge that students from such institutions have a smaller chance for later success. Finally, the most alienated students were those who had low future status expectations, suggesting that such students feel cheated by their schools. Socioeconomic background was not related to level of alienation. Implications of the study are explored. (Author/JM)

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SCHOOLING FOR ALIENATION: THE ETHIOPIAN EXPERIENCE

Desta Asayehgn

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The notion that schooling is the most important and effective instrument of political socialization has received much attention. The central goals of civic education have traditionally been to build character, to instill obedience to rules and laws, and to develop respect for political institutions and established authority. In line with this notion, the overwhelming majority of studies of political socialization tend to focus on the political norms learned in schools. They discuss those conditions favoring the reproduction of the existing social relations of production. This can be seen clearly in the writings of Coleman. Political socialization, says Coleman:

> . . . refers to that process by which individuals acquire attitudes and feelings toward the political system and toward their role in it, including cognition (what one knows or believes about the system, its existence as well as its modus operandi), feeling (how one feels toward the system, including loyalty and a sense of civic obligation), and one's sense of political competence (what one's role is or can be in the system) (1965: 18).

Langton, formulating the rationale for political socialization research in Jamaica observes: "It is important to ask in what manner future leaders and citizens are being socialized to accept their roles within the political system" (1969: X).

In his discussion about schools in East Africa, Prewitt argues that the school commands the nearly undivided attention of students for long hours over many years. The school is specifically assigned the task of citizenship training. In contrast

to other socialization agencies such as the family, the peer group, the tribal elders, the school is available to centralized and uniform control. Despite barriers, says Prewitt, "the public schools remain the most controllable channel for political instruction" (1971: II).

Despite the diversity of these studies, they seem to have one element in common: schools are viewed as conveyors of consensus values for the reproduction of the existing social relations of production. They focus on a one-way flow of information and value transfers from the socialization agency to the socializee. They regard the socializee as a passive recipient (see Schwartz and Schwartz, 1975: 6). In Grossman's words, "the great bulk of political socialization research seems to be largely guided by an essentially consensual assumption about the role of political socialization in the political system . . ." (1976: 6; see also Weiler, 1972).

More recently, however, in contradiction to the assumptions of most studies on political socialization, there is widespread evidence of student alienation and increased student activism which indicate that schools do not necessarily produce "obedient" and "loyal citizens." A few examples can be cited here. Lipset indicated that "student movements in South Korea, Turkey, South Vietnam, Indonesia, Bolivia, Venezuela, and other nations have played a leading role in overturning governments" (1966: 129). In France massive student demonstrations in 1968 almost brought about the collapse of the de Gaulle regime. In the United States the incidents at Kent State and Jackson State in

1970 accentuated the conflicts between students and government over the continuation of the unpopular war in Vietnam (Massialas, 1972: 3).

This has been as true in Africa as elsewhere. In 1964, the National Union of Moroccan Students (UNEM) asked for the immediate liberation of all political detainees, retraction of all sentences passed against progressive militants and cessation of all repressive measures taken by King Hassan's regime. The UNEM further called for the establishment of a popular government which would include representatives of the workers and peasants (Africa Diary, 1964: 2004).

Student demonstrations in the Republic of the Sudan contributed to the 1964 downfall of the government. In Ghana, the government was forced to close the universities in 1964 because of massive student demonstrations. A similar phenomenon was witnessed in Libya in 1964. High school and college students demonstrated against the conservatism of the regime of 75-year-old King Idris I (Africa Diary, 1964: 1604).

Student demonstrations at schools in and around Dakar, Senegal, created a government crisis which was ended only by the use of military force. In the last week of March 1969, students went on strike in protest against the dismissal of eighteen high school students at the National School of Rural Cadres at Bambey. Following this strike, the Democratic Union of Senegalese students (UDEAS) at Dakar University announced that it had decided to call a strike of support for the "just struggle" of the secondary school students. The union also called for

the immediate and unconditional readmission of the dismissed high school students and appealed to the workers throughout the country to unite behind the students (Africa Diary, 1969: 4418).

In 1973, the three main administrative offices of the Lycee Van Vollenhaven in Dakar and four secondary schools in St. Louis were set on fire following the suspension of over fifty university students. "Student pamphlets called for the readmission of those suspended, the right to form associations, the removal of certain teachers, teaching reforms and an improvement in equipment" (African Diary, 1974: 6420).

In Tanzania about 1400 students confronted President Nyerere when he directed that secondary school leavers and university students participate in Tanzania National Youth Service to work on various social projects in the field. The students defied the order and marched through the streets to the State House carrying placards that read "The national service terms are harsh, colonialism was better." President Nyerere retaliated by suspending more than three hundred protestors (see African Diary, 1966: 3169, and Hanna, 1975: 15).

In 1971, President Mobutu of Zaire closed down Lovanium University in Kinshasa indefinitely on June 5, and ordered its entire body drafted into the army for two years. The decision followed a student demonstration on June 4, 1971, commemorating the death of five students shot by soldiers in 1969. The students carried a coffin for a symbolic burial on the campus and burned the national flag. Some burst into the rector's office and held him prisoner for two hours (Africa Diary, 1971: 5525).

On November 29 and 30, 1971, students in Chad at the Felix Ebove secondary schools, together with primary school children, demonstrated against the exclusion from school of a number of students. The demonstration caused the government to close all schools in the capital city (see Africa Diary, 1972: 5895).

In 1972, the Malagasy Government declared martial law in two regions of the country (i.e., in Tamatarie and Tenerive-East in Northeast Madagascar) after students protested against government plans to make the country's educational system more national in character (Africa Diary, 1973: 6302,3).

These examples suggest that students in general have become a potentially important political force. Moreover, the above examples seem to demonstrate that many schools are not producing passive students thoroughly socialized to accept the reproduction of the existing social relations of production, but rather are producing students alienated from their society and government. In this case it seems that the traditional studies of political socialization in the schools are not adequate. A different approach is needed to determine why schools are producing alienated students who reject existing systems.

Purpose of the Present Study

The main purpose of this study is to investigate those conditions under which students become alienated. In this study, alienation is defined as powerlessness (the perception that one is externally controlled) and social isolation (the perception of losing effective contact with significant groups and the feeling of rebellion against school and public authorities).

Specific questions in the study deal with the relationship between alienation and background characteristics of students, school environment, test anxiety, institutional prestige, and students' status expectations. The major research questions are:

1. Are students from high socioeconomic backgrounds as alienated as students from low socioeconomic backgrounds?
2. What is the relationship between different types of school environments and student alienation?
3. Do students who feel anxious about their academic achievement have a tendency to feel more alienated than students who are less anxious about their academic achievement?
4. Are students from "high status" institutions as alienated as students from "low status" institutions?
5. Do students who expect to attain high status positions feel as alienated as students who do not?

Answers to the above questions will be sought through a study of the graduating secondary school students in the fifteen educational provinces in Ethiopia.

Why Ethiopia?

Ethiopia is an appropriate site for a case study of student alienation for the following reasons: student activism in Ethiopia has become a regular feature of school life. Starting in 1965, hardly an academic year has gone by without major student strikes and demonstrations against national policies, government officials, school directors, and teachers. Students have

demanded land reform, full employment, price control, educational reform, etc. They have "constituted actually and potentially a major political force," (Grey, 1970: 209) and played an important role in bringing about the downfall of Haile Selassie's Government. (See Desta, 1977 and 1979 for a discussion on student unrest in Ethiopia.)

Significance of the Study

What is the significance of this study?

First, most studies of political socialization have concentrated on consensus and support for the political system. More recently, however, a strong objection has been raised by Ziegler and Peak (1970), Weiler (1972), and Grossman (1976) against this consensual assumption. They have stressed that greater attention be paid to conflictual elements. As Weiler puts it, "it is time to begin to conceive political socialization as a process which leads not only to certain levels of regime norm acceptance, political efficacy, trust, etc., but also to the orientation which pertains to the individual's attitudes toward conflictual elements in the political system" (1972: 62). Examination of this notion as applied to the situation of high school students in Ethiopia may increase our understanding of some of the causes of alienation in the developing countries. Moreover, the institutional effect on student alienation is a relatively unexplored area. Examination of this concept in the Ethiopian context may increase our understanding of the institutional factors that may lead to alienation.

Second, although a major work on education and politics in Ethiopia is available (see Grey, 1970), it has the following limitations:

1. It lacks a well articulated theoretical framework
2. It is unrepresentative because the data was not drawn from carefully determined samples

Hence the study proposed here could be regarded as the first intensive and systematic study of the attitudes of the Ethiopian high school students in the fifteen education provinces.

Finally, it is the basic hypothesis of the study that internal structural characteristics of schools and students' future status concerns are significantly related to alienation among high school students in Ethiopia. If these factors are found to be associated with student alienation, then the findings of this study may lead administrators and teachers to a greater sensitivity toward students' fundamental concerns. For example, students could be involved in classroom discussions and decisions that affect their lives in school. Also, the result of the study may demonstrate to the policy makers in Ethiopia the need to tailor the educational system to the manpower needs of the country. Moreover, the study may help the Ethiopian Ministry of Education to devise educational programs aimed specifically at the reduction of alienation in Ethiopian high schools.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

To explore the central question of the conditions under which students become alienated it is necessary to have a conceptual framework that focuses on alienation. To construct this framework, it is necessary to review what is meant by alienation and extract from previous studies general factors attributed to student alienation.

The causes of alienation

Investigators have generally approached the study of alienation from either sociological or a psychological perspective. The perspectives have determined which factors they have investigated as causes of alienation. Those who stress social conditions have investigated the relationship between alienation and parental socio-economic status and institutional prestige. On the other hand, those who stress psychological factors associated with alienation have tried to see the relationship between alienation and psychological factors such as perception of the school environment, test anxiety, and students' status expectations.

Parental socio-economic status and alienation

Studies of alienation have generally concerned themselves with the inter-relationship between the social positions in which

.. individuals find themselves (usually socioeconomic status and social connectedness) and alienation. No matter how alienation is defined, most studies consistently have reported that there is a significant inverse relationship between alienation and individual social status. In such studies socioeconomic status was usually defined to include respondents' reports of parents' educational levels, occupational attainments, and yearly incomes.

Templeton (1966: 253) reports that in the case of every piece of research, social status was found to be negatively related to alienation. Armer (1970) also indicates that in Northern Nigeria, respondents with less education or no education tend to be more alienated than respondents with more education. Emmerson argues that "lower social origin leads to leftward politicization because the student is poor, disoriented, frustrated, and identifies more easily with the deprived strata in society (1968: 396). McClosky and Schaar (1969: 466) indicate that anomie is inversely related to socioeconomic status. They go on to say that no study has attempted to reverse the thesis that certain objective social conditions cause alienation.

The reasoning that lies behind the above cited finding is that people in lower socioeconomic status categories--the poor, the less educated, people who are less connected to social and political organizations--are objectively disadvantaged. As Schwartz puts it, "if politics is who gets what, when and how, then people who are getting little, most of the time, should value the polity and society correspondingly" (1973: 9). Though

socioeconomic status could be a factor that can cause alienation, it cannot be taken as the only condition producing it. For instance, Middleton (1963), using three of Seeman's five components of alienation--powerlessness, meaninglessness, and normlessness--found that factors such as sex, marital status, race, and size of community of origin also tend to be related to alienation (see also Lefton, 1968: 397-452).

To have a better grasp of alienation it is worth looking at other factors that are associated with it.

School Environment and Alienation

School environment factors related to student alienation consistently cited by researchers are the degree of student participation in decision-making processes and classroom discussions, the instructional material, teacher-student interaction, school location, etc.

For example, Corwin indicates that the more bureaucratic the educational institution is, the greater the status and power difference between students, teachers and administrators, and the more socially isolated the students are from the administrators and teachers. Thus, Corwin argues that "isolation of powerlessness makes students feel neglected, manipulated and dehumanized" (1974: 208).

Wittes also assumes that the school environment has an impact on the development of student attitudes and behavior.

> The school has traditionally seen itself as apolitical in nature. However, it now holds the spotlight as a context for internal political activity. Many students, angered with policies in school and society, are engaged in a common quest--a search for power. . . . They wish

> to change the bureaucratic inhibitions and prohibitions that separate them from their educators; . . . the tracking system that sorts them out and predetermines their future; the curriculum which they deem to be unrelated . . . (1972: 103).

In the past says Wittes:

> . . . students allowed power to rest in the hands of administrators and teachers because they trusted the image of society presented to them and the role the school played in their preparation for entrance into that society. Today most of their trust has dissipated into the realization of the glaring disparity between the ideals and the realities of the society and its institutions. They no longer believe that most educators are acting in students' best interests or providing them with relevant skills and knowledge; hence they are reacting with either the withdrawal or militant activity which stems from feelings of impotence and alienation (1972: 103).

To examine the extent to which the internal structures of schools can influence student attitudes and behavior, many researchers have attempted to determine the influence of school variables such as teacher-student interaction patterns, and the degree of student involvement in classroom discussions. (See Newcomb and Feldman, 1969; Bock, 1970; DuBey, 1972; Arnove, 1970; Wittes, 1972; Nielsen, 1974; Grossman, 1976.)

Dreeben (1968) indicates that the authority relationship between teacher and student can have an impact on the acquisition of norms, such as achievement, independence, universalism, and specificity. Once these norms have been learned, Dreeben states they can be generalized to the future political behavior of students.

According to Carnoy and Levin's argument, alienation in school situations could be partly reduced if schools were viewed as work places in which increasing control by all "workers (both

educators and students) is desirable. . . . The goal is to raise teacher and student consciousness about the nature of the system they serve by obtaining joint control as a single class over the learning process" (1976: 20).

Also related to this concern is the research of Ehman (1969). He found that school climate as measured by teacher treatment of controversial issues, teacher objectivity, teacher neutrality, and teacher discussions of racial problems were strong predictors of political efficacy, participation, and cynicism. Grossman also found that the number of controversial issue courses taken and the student's perception of his/her freedom to express his/her own views was positively related to dissent toleration (1976: 61).

Almond and Verba in their cross-national study of political socialization suggest that a more democratic classroom atmosphere recalled from school days tended to be related to a higher sense of political competence of the respondents. They found that persons within each nation who recalled being able to participate in school decisions turned out to be more politically competent than those who recalled being unable to participate (1963: 276). A study conducted in Venezuela also indicates that "students who don't interact with their teachers are more likely to manifest a lower sense of professional efficacy and also show a higher tendency to alienation" (Arnove, 1970: 59). Abernethy also cites the case of a school in Southern Nigeria in which school self-government partly resulted in a high degree of political activity on the part of its graduates (1969: 52).

The research of Freeze and Armstrong also tried to assess the impact of schooling on student alienation. To test the hypothesis that public secondary schools in Canada are encouraging more than acceptable levels of student alienation, Freeze and Armstrong examined student behaviors that were indicative of student-avoidance behavior. They found that students may try to avoid having the teachers ask them questions by attempting to remain inconspicuous. Other students develop methods of avoiding the teacher's questions by causing him/her to shift attention to another matter. Freeze and Armstrong also observed that students sometimes cooperated in establishing new activities to counter the teacher's objectives for a class (Loken, 1973: 17).

In his study of high school students, Beneke (1970) found that high alienation scores were significantly related to those students classified as nonparticipants in school sponsored activities. Hartley (1970) in his study of high school students in New Jersey found that school environment as measured by student-teacher interaction and student participation in school activities was a strong predictor of student normlessness.

From the findings of the above cited studies we may expect to find more alienated Ethiopian students in high schools which provide little opportunity for student involvement in classroom discussions and also in high schools where students feel that the pattern of teacher-student interaction is low.

Students' Status Expectations and Alienation

So far the discussion has shown that both individual socioeconomic background differences and internal school charac-

teristics can have an effect on student alienation. This aspect of the argument can be diagrammed as follows:

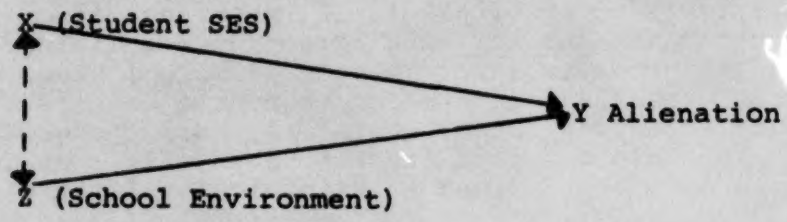


Figure 1. Relationship of SES, school environment, and alienation.

X is student SES variable, Z indicates school environment. Both X and Z can affect Y which is alienation. (The arrows indicate the direction of influence; the broken arrow represents a possible relationship while the solid arrows represent probable relationships.)

On the other hand, it is also possible to expect that student alienation is determined not merely by the internal characteristics of the institutions but also by other roles which students anticipate to occupy in the future. Thus alienation may be closely related to the external societal conditions and students' perception of their future status. (See for example, Meyer, 1970; Bock, 1970; Weiler, 1972, DuBey, 1972.)

The notion that the societal status of a high school affects the future adult status and the political attitudes of students has been conceptualized in terms of a "charter" that high status institutions have from society to channel their members into the elite positions in the larger social structure (Meyer, 1970). Thus, according to this notion, the effective-

ness of a school is largely dependent upon what happens to the school graduates. As Meyer puts it:

> . . . the power of a socializing organization is dependent on its charter, the agreed upon social definitions of its products. For example, a school whose graduates are, generally, understood to become members of an elite with broadly defined powers will have the greater impact on the values of its students than will a school whose graduates are defined as eligible for limited roles (1970: 2,3).

The basic assumption of the charter is that the school's socializing power is to a great extent dependent upon its ability to confer future status and rewards to its students. The fact that the "chartered school" can be a means for future status gain has to be believed by the students, parents, teachers, and the society at large. Meyer hypothesizes that "the more politically chartered a given school or social system, the more students in it will come to identify with the political system" (1972: 139). Similarly, DuBey hypothesized that the institutionalization of educational charter may support elites by providing a route of legitimate entry to high status positions but also alienate others who are excluded and who are streamed to schools which lead to nonelite status (1972: 17).

Using the same concept, Stinchcombe argues that when a student realizes that he does not achieve future status from current school work, current school work loses meaning and the student reacts negatively to a conformity that offers nothing concrete (1964: 5,6). As he puts it, "when present activity fails to provide a sense of being clearly connected to future increments of status, the student tends to become expressively alienated and rebellious" (1964: 9).

Statement of the Hypotheses

In order to investigate the conditions under which students become alienated, the following hypotheses were tested:

1. Students from high socioeconomic backgrounds are less likely to be alienated than students from low socioeconomic backgrounds.
2. Students who perceive the school environment to be open in terms of student involvement, teacher support, task and achievement orientation are less likely to be alienated than students who perceive the school environment to be closed.
3. Students with a high level of test anxiety are more likely to be alienated than students with a low level of test anxiety.
4. Students enrolled in high status schools are less likely to be alienated than students enrolled in low status schools.
5. Students whose future status expectations are high are less likely to be alienated than students whose future status expectations are low.

The Analytical Model

In order to test the above stated hypotheses, an analytical model which reflects the basic assumptions is needed. Figure 2 represents the analytical model used in this study. X_1 is socioeconomic background. X_2 indicates school environment. X_3 represents test anxiety. X_4 indicates institutional prestige. X_5 represents students' status expectations. X_1, X_2, X_3, X_4, and X_5 are expected to have independent effect on X_6, which is alienation.

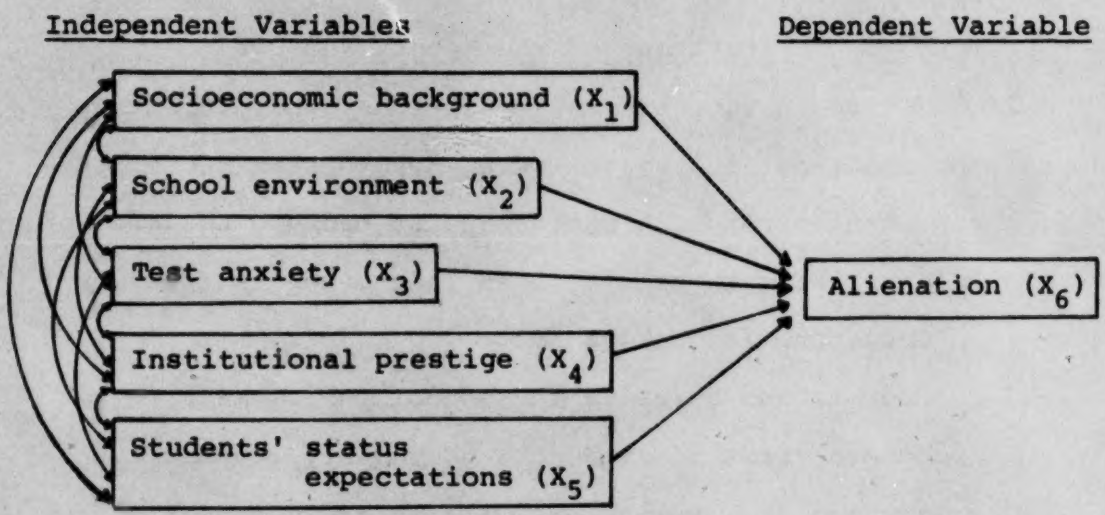


Figure 2. The analytical model

The arrows indicate the direction of influence; the two-headed, curvilinear arrows represent possible relationships between the independent variables, while the unidirectional arrows represent probable associations between the independent variables and the dependent variable. It is worth stressing that there could be linkages between the independent variables, but since the intent of this research is to determine the relationship

between the independent variables and the dependent variable, the degree of association between the independent variables will not be explored. In the section that follows, each of the variables will be defined and operationalized.

Definition and Operationalization of the Independent Variables

Based on the review of literature presented above, the independent variables in this study are the socioeconomic background of the students, school environment, test anxiety, institutional prestige, and students' status expectations.

Socioeconomic background. Following the suggestion of Foster that within the African context, level of parental education is probably the most useful single variable that can be utilized in analyzing the socioeconomic background of students (1970: 230), our index of socioeconomic status includes father's education and mother's education. In addition, since within the Ethiopian context the number of servants one employs is a measure of social status, the number of servants employed by the respondent's parents is also included as a measure of socioeconomic status.

School environment. This variable is taken as a compound of various attitudes which a student has and exhibits toward his school. It is the "overall" feeling tones of the school as perceived by the students (Nielsen, 1974). The theoretical framework adopted for use in this study is based on two of Moos' three dimensions (1974). These are:

1. The relationship dimension which assesses the extent to which students tend to become involved in the classroom and the extent to which teachers support students (1974: 2).

Indicators of relationship dimensions are:

a) Student involvement. Student involvement measures "the extent to which a student has interest in class activities and participates in discussion" (Moos and Trickett, 1974: 3).

b) Teacher support. Teacher support measures "the amount of help, concern, and friendship the teacher directs toward the students" (Moos and Trickett, 1974: 3).

2. The personal development dimension assesses "the basic directions along which personal growth and self-enhancement tend to occur in the particular environment" (Moos, 1974: 13). Included in the personal development dimensions are:

a) Task orientation. Task orientation measures "the extent to which it is important to complete the activities that have been planned" (Moos and Trickett, 1974: 3).

b) Academic achievement orientation. Academic achievement orientation measures the extent to which classroom and academic accomplishment and concern are prominent to the individual.

It was decided to include academic achievement orientation as a part of school environment indicators on the basis of Benson's and Keniston's work on alienation. Benson found that alienation among college students was negatively related to the number of hours of studying (1966). Keniston describes the alienated college student who experiences a loss of interest in a topic by the very fact of its assignment (1968).

Test anxiety. Test anxiety refers to a measure of anxiety created by having to take tests (Jones, 1976: 12). This is an

important component of "environmental press in the Ethiopian context because at the end of grade twelve all students in Ethiopia sit for the Ethiopian School Learning Certificate Examination. The E.S.L.C.E. is the single most important screening device used to select students for university admission. Out of those who sit for this examination, less than 20 percent pass the test. As might be expected, competition among the students for places in the university is intense (see King, 1972: 21). Given the importance attached to this examination, test anxiety is an important component to consider in measuring student alienation. For example, students in schools in which there have been few passes may exhibit higher test anxiety and this may lead them to be alienated (see Jones, 1976: 13). McClosky and Schaar also argue that persons who feel generally anxious about themselves and about their achievement also feel anxious about the external world. Their anxiety spills over into the outer world. They see society as uncertain, lacking in clear standards. In their research they found that there was a positive correlation between level of anxiety and anomie (1969: 29). Similarly, Bock in his Malaysian study argues that test anxiety might have intensified student alienation (1970: 387-388).

Institutional prestige. This dimension is designed to classify schools on the basis of their past performance in facilitating access to elite status (see Bock, 1970: 272). In Ethiopia, the prestige of a high school is to a greater extent based upon the performance of its students in the Ethiopian

School Learning Certificate Examination (E.S.L.C.E.). As mentioned above, the E.S.L.C.E. is the single most important criterion for admission to the University and other post secondary diploma programs. In addition, the E.S.L.C.E. scores are sometimes considered by prospective employers for screening job applicants (King, 1972: 21-23). Hence, schools whose students perform well in School Learning Examinations are regarded as the best schools and the standards of these schools are generally very high. That is, such schools are well equipped, are staffed with highly qualified faculty members, and the student/teacher ratio is very low. Entrance to these schools is very competitive and some schools even charge fees. Based on E.S.L.C.E. results, high schools in Ethiopia were classified along a continuum ranging from "high status" to "low status."

Students' status expectations. The students' status expectations dimension refers to "a measure of attitudes toward status or mobility. That is, the value placed on symbols of status and on the attainment of higher status" (Jones, 1976: 12). An index of students' status expectations was constructed using a continuum ranging from high expectations to low expectations.

Definition and Operationalization of the Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is alienation. As discussed above, alienation refers to subjective feelings of powerlessness and social isolation.

Powerlessness. Powerlessness is the "expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot

determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcement he seeks" (Seeman, 1959: 784). Individuals who feel that they cannot have an effect on the environment, and perceive that they are externally controlled are taken as alienated. Those individuals who feel that they can control their environment are classified as nonalienated.

Social isolation. Social isolation is defined as "the perception of losing effective contact with significant and supporting groups" (Dean, 1960: 187). One who is low in this dimension would sense warm friendly personal relationships, have confidence in the dependability of his acquaintances and people in authority, as opposed to sensing feelings of rejection, loneliness, and impersonality.

Definition and Operationalization of Control Variables

As discussed above, the independent variables chosen in this study are socioeconomic status, school environment, test anxiety, institutional prestige, and students' status expectations; and the dependent variable is alienation. However, certain factors such as school location, type of school, and general ability may modify the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. For example, Lipset (1968: 146) and Emmerson (1968: 398) argue that the location of a school can have impact on student political attitude and behavior. It is also possible that type of school and general ability can have impact on student alienation (Corwin, 1974). Thus the control variables included in the study are school location, type of school, and students' scores on a general

ability test. It is worth mentioning that it was the original plan of the study to include sex, ethnicity, peer group influence, and religion as control variables, but since Addis Ababa University Testing Center data did not contain information on respondents' sex, ethnicity, peer group influence, and religion, these variables were not included in the analysis.

School location. School location refers to the location of high schools. Using this dimension, high schools are classified along a continuum ranging from schools situated in large cities to schools in small urban areas. (Rural is not included in our continuum because there are no secondary schools in rural areas.)

Type of school. Type of school refers to government and nongovernment high schools. As defined by the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, government schools include "schools operated by the Ministry of Education or by some other government Ministry or agency. It also includes a few schools, which although basically private, receive a regular fiscal subsidy from the government" (School Census 1974: XIV).

The nongovernment sector includes "schools operated by missionary societies (mission schools), by private individuals or groups, and by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church" (School Census, 1974: XIV).

General ability. General ability refers to respondents' measured ability in quantitative and verbal reasoning. In order to assess the general ability of the students, a standardized aptitude test on verbal reasoning and numerical ability

constructed by the Addis Ababa University Testing Center was administered to all the respondents. Hence, scores on general ability are used in this study as a proxy to a student's grade point average.

Table 1

Summary Table of Variables and Indicators

Variable	Indicators	Relevant References in the Literature
Independent variable		
Socioeconomic status	-father's education -mother's education -servants employed	Foster (1970)
School environment	-student involvement -teacher support -task orientation -academic achievement orientation	Moos (1974)
Test anxiety	-scores on test anxiety	Bock (1970) Jones (1976)
Institutional prestige	-past performance of graduates on E.S.L.C.E.	Meyer (1970)
Students' status expectations	-scores on attitudes toward status or mobility	Jones (1976)
Dependent variable		
Alienation	-scores on: -powerlessness -social isolation	Seeman (1959) Dean (1960)
Control variables		
School location	-large cities/other urban areas	Lipset (1968) Emmerson (1968)
Type of school	-government/non-government	
General ability	-standardized test on verbal reasoning and numerical ability	Corwin (1974)

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the instrument used in the data collection, the sample, the administration of the questionnaire, data processing, and the construction of indicators and scales.

The first section of this chapter deals with the selection of the questionnaire items. This is followed by a brief narration of the sampling procedure used in the study and a brief description of the background characteristics of the respondents. Section three deals with the administration of the questionnaire, coding, punching of the results, building the indicators, and the scales and computation of the reliability and validity of the scales used in the study.

The Instrument

The design of the study is based on the Addis Ababa University Testing Center Data collected by Dr. Reginald Jones, former Director of Haile Selassie I University Testing Center. He collected the data from a questionnaire administered to a sample of grade twelve students who took the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination in 1973. The present investigator was also personally involved in administering the questionnaire to a group of students in one of the examination centers.

The instrument used for data collection was a self-administered questionnaire in which the respondents were treated as respondents and informants. The questionnaire items were state-

ments collected and formulated on the basis of existing research and suggestions from Ethiopians knowledgeable on the subject.

The first part of the questionnaire was devoted to items on alienation, general ability, school environment, status expectation, test anxiety, self-conception, and other variables. The second part of the questionnaire was devoted to personal data such as to respondents' socioeconomic status, type of school, location of school, etc.

The instrument used on the Addis Ababa University Testing Center data was developed and refined during a lengthy discussion and pretested at Bedemariam Laboratory School. Great care was taken by Dr. Jones to test the validity of the instrument for the Ethiopian situation. As discussed by Dr. Jones the instrument was developed and modified for use in Ethiopia:

> Modification took the form of elimination of items seen to be culturally inappropriate in rephrasing the questions to eliminate inappropriate words or phrases. An Ethiopian educational psychologist and an Ethiopian cultural anthropologist were utilized in screening and modifying the scales used . . . (1976: 5).

The instrucions and assignment given the judges were straightforward. The intent of the study was described briefly, and the actual questionnaire presented. Each item was to be reviewed for its clarity and understandability within the Ethiopian context. Judges made one or two suggestions, either that the item be eliminated, or that it be modified, in which case specific modifications were suggested. The judges were also asked to add items which seemed to reflect the construct under consideration but which were more specific to the Ethiopian situation (see Jones, 1976: 5,6).

Suggestions obtained from the panel of judges were incorporated into the construction of the questionnaire. The questionnaire items were paired positive and negative and randomly distributed to keep the respondents from guessing what the statements were intended to measure. Then the questionnaire was pretested on a group of grade twelve students at Bedemariam Laboratory School.

Population and Sampling

The subjects for this study were randomly drawn from the population of regular grade twelve students who were registered to take the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (ESLCE).

Lists of students in each school and educational province were secured from the ESLCE Office at the University. Then a random sample of 1,503 students was drawn. Randomization was achieved by giving the students serial numbers.

Table 2 shows a breakdown of the sample by educational provinces and proportion of the sample to the total population. In the sample drawn, the proportion of the sample in each educational province is similar to the proportion in the entire population. Moreover, the sample included students from large cities, other urban government and nongovernment schools in the fifteen educational provinces. A short description of the background characteristics of the sample is given below.

Background Characteristics of Respondents

The respondents' reports show the following breakdown of parents: 48 percent of the students' mothers and 24 percent

Table 2

Comparison of the Sample as a Proportion of the Population in the Fifteen Educational Provinces

Province	Sample	% of Sample	Population	% of Population
Addis Ababa	440	29.3	2,852	35.4
Arussi	60	4.1	257	3.2
Bale	20	1.3	111	1.4
Begemdir	99	6.6	372	4.6
Eritrea	59	3.9	186	2.3
Gemu Gofa	17	1.1	77	1.0
Gojjam	99	6.6	396	4.9
Hararge	130	8.6	621	7.7
Illubabor	20	1.3	33	0.4
Keffa	36	2.4	255	3.2
Shewa	233	15.5	1,309	16.2
Sidamo	49	3.3	309	3.8
Tigrai	110	7.3	574	7.1
Wellega	63	4.2	270	3.4
Wello	68	4.5	433	5.4
Total	1,503	100.0	8,055	100.0

of their fathers had no formal education; 21 percent of their mothers and 32 percent of their fathers had attended some type of primary school; 31 percent of their mothers and 44 percent of their fathers had secondary, college, and graduate education.

Forty-seven percent of the students reported that their parents had no servants; 39 percent of the students reported that their parents had one to four servants and 14 percent of the students' parents had five or more servants.

Sixty-four percent of the students' parents lived together, 36 percent of the students' parents were either separated, divorced, or one or both of their parents were deceased.

Nineteen percent of the subjects reported having one or two siblings and 17 percent reported having three to four siblings while 53 percent of the subjects reported having five or more siblings.

A summary of the data on respondents is presented in Table 3.

Administration of the Questionnaire, Coding and Punching of Responses

The questionnaire was administered as a part of the School Leaving Certificate Examination in April 1973. Faculty members at the university and the Ministry of Education personnel were selected to take charge of each center. In some cases, experienced university students were used to assist the chief examiners.

After an elaborate orientation, the chief examiners were entrusted with the questionnaire. The questionnaires were placed in sealed envelopes and then locked in mail bags. Then

Table 3.

Background Characteristics of Respondents

Student Characteristics	Percent	No. Cases
Parents' Education - Mother		
No schooling	47.7	
Grade school or less	20.9	
High school	11.9	
B.A. and above	19.5	
Total	100.0	1,470
Parents' Education - Father		
No schooling	24.4	
Grade school or less	32.1	
High school	25.2	
B.A. and above	18.3	
Total	100.0	1,473
Servants Employed by Parents		
None	46.8	
1 - 2	31.0	
3 - 4	8.3	
5 and more	13.9	
Total	100.0	1,480
Parents Live Together		
Yes	63.8	
One dead	13.6	
Both dead	5.1	
Separated	10.4	
Divorced	7.1	
Total	100.0	1,488
Number of Siblings		
None	10.6	
1 - 2	18.8	
3 - 4	17.3	
5 - 6	14.7	
7 and more	38.6	
Total	100.0	1,471

the questionnaire was administered the same day and hour throughout the country to the randomly selected students after they showed their identification card which included their photograph. Clear instructions were given to the respondents that they need not write their names. Thus the returns were anonymous. Responses were coded by Dr. Jones and his assistants.

Coding error was minimized because a simple standard recording and checking procedure was set up by Dr. Jones. Responses as given by the respondents were recorded on a coding sheet and since Dr. Jones was checking the work of the coders, errors were quite low.

The raw data as recorded on the coding sheets were obtained by the writer and the coded data were transferred to IBM cards verified by the keypunch section of the Stanford Computation Center. Further verification, cleaning up the data, computation, and statistical analysis were done by the writer using IBM computer facilities at Stanford Computation Center.

Construction of Indicators and Scales

In this section of the chapter, a brief discussion of the construction of the indicators and the scales will be presented.

As mentioned in the second chapter, the major independent variables of the study include socioeconomic status, school environment, test anxiety, institutional prestige, and status expectation. The major dependent variable is alienation. Control variables included in the study are school location, type of school, and students' scores on a general ability test.

Socioeconomic status index. Socioeconomic status in Ethiopia is determined by such factors as mother's education,

father's education, and the number of servants employed by the respondent's parents.

Both mother's education and father's education were divided into four categories and were given a value of one to four points. These categories were: (1) no schooling, (2) grade school or less, (3) high school, (4) B.A., M.A., and Ph.D.

Number of servants employed by respondent's parents was divided into four categories and given a value of one to four points. These categories were: (1) none, (2) 1 - 2, (3) 3 - 4, (4) 5 or more servants.

An SES index was formed by adding the values of mother's education, father's education, and the number of servants employed by respondent's parents. The total scores ranged from 3 to 12 points. The distribution of the scores was divided at the median into high and low SES groups.

School environment scale. The school environment scale is based partially on Moos's (1974) concept of school climate. It is measured through students' self-report about the various attributes of their school. In measuring the school environment, two different kinds of scales were created.

1. The first scale was constructed on the basis of individual perception of the school environment in terms of students' involvement, teacher support, task orientation, and academic achievement orientation. This scale was formed by adding the values on the 22 items. Then the school environment scale was dichotomized

into open/closed dimensions. The open school environment represents students' perception of having been involved in classroom discussions, students' responses indicating that the environment enhanced task and academic achievement motivation, and students' reporting that they have had teachers concerned about them. The closed environment represents students' reports of little encouragement of participation, low task and academic achievement motiviation, and little student-teacher interaction.

2. The second scale was created by assigning the mean perception scores of students of the amount of involvement, teacher-support, task and achievement orientation encouraged by their school as an aggregate measure of the school environment. For example, for the fifty-three high schools in the study, fifty-three means were computed and correlated with the dependent variable alienation.

Test anxiety. This scale is a measure of anxiety created by having to take tests. The scale is designed to seek information from the respondents on the extent to which taking the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination influences their attitudes. Included in this scale were 35 items.

Institutional prestige. An index of institutional prestige was constructed by ranking schools' performances in the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination for a period of six years (1968 to 1973). Schools whose rank was from 1 to

26 were taken as "high status" and schools which ranked from 27 to 53 were taken as "low status" institutions.

Students' status expectations. This scale tried to sound respondents' attitude toward status or mobility. Included in this scale were 17 items.

Alienation. The major dependent variable alienation was formed by adding 23 items which measured powerlessness and 28 items which measured social isolation. The total scores ranged from 10 to 42 points.

School location. Schools were classified into two groups; these were schools situated in large cities (population 40,000 plus) and schools located in other urban areas (population 7,090 to 40,000).

Type of school. An index of type of school was constructed by grouping schools included in the study into two groups--those operated by the Ministry of Education and those operated by private organizations.

General ability. General ability was measured through the use of a standardized test on verbal reasoning and numerical ability constructed by the Addis Ababa University Testing Center. The scores ranged from 1 to 99. The distribution of the scores was divided at the median into low ability (1 - 52 points) and high ability (53 - 99 points) (for details see Desta, 1977)

Reliability and Validity

Reliability. After the scales were constructed, a coefficient of reliability was computed using the Kuder-Richardson Formula 21 (see Roscoe, 1975: 135).

$$r_{xx} = \frac{n\sigma^2 - m\,(n-m)}{(n-1)\sigma^2}$$

Where n = the number of items on the scale

σ^2 = the variance of the items

m = mean of the items

The value of the coefficient of reliability of the scores on the alienation scale was .55 and that of text anxiety and students' status expectations were .69 and .50 respectively. The average coefficient of reliability for the three scales was .58. These and other relevant statistics are summarized below.

Table 4.

Selected Characteristics of Scales

Scale	No. of Items	Mean Score	Median Score	Variance	Deviation	Range	Reliability (KR21)
Alienation	51	26.52	26.75	27.72	5.27	32	.55
Test anxiety	35	15.5	15.7	26.3	5.1	29	.69
Students' status expectations	17	9.2	9.5	8.1	2.8	19	.50

Note that the coefficient of reliability is not high. Following Nunnally's suggestion that "in the early stages of research on predictor tests or hypothesized measures of constructs, one

saves time and energy by working with instruments that have only modest reliability, for which purpose reliabilities of .60 or .50 will suffice" (1967: 226); it is possible to say that these values are sufficient. These values might be regarded as low if the scales were used for research on individuals, but for research on groups as done in this study they can be taken as adequate (for further discussion of this argument see Cortes, 1970: 239).

Validity. Checks on the validity of the scales were based on face validity and construct validity.

First, before the questionnaire was administered, a panel of Ethiopian experts modified and included items on the scale which seemed to reflect the construct under study. Second, "agreement response set" which could contribute to the invalidity of the scales was "controlled by wording scale items so that an approximately equal number are phrased in the agree and disagree directions" (Jones, 1976: 17).

Third, checks on validity of the alienation scale were made by correlating the alienation scale with respondent's score on another variable anomie. The two constructs were expected to correlate positively. The result supported this prediction. The correlation was statistically significant at .05 level.

Another construct, self-concept, was expected to correlate negatively with the alienation scale. The result was in the predicted direction. The alienation scale and the variable of self-concept correlated negatively. This was statistically significant at .001 level. Thus these correlations strongly support the validity of the measurement.

Finally, the fact that most of the predictors generally highly correlated with the major criterion, alienation, is a clear indication that the independent variables chosen for the study had strong predictive validity (for further discussion of this argument see Nielsen, 1976).

Summary

This brief chapter has discussed the instrument used in data collection, the administration of the questionnaire, and the identification of the sample used in the study. Further, the chapter has outlined the construction of the indicators and the scales. Finally, the reliability and validity of scales were discussed.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSES

In this chapter the hypotheses proposed in the first chapter will be analyzed. The first section of this chapter will present the results from the testing of the major hypotheses. This will be followed by a presentation of the major findings of the study.

Hypotheses Testing

To test the hypotheses generated in the first chapter, chi-square and t-test for independent groups were performed using the following ten groups:

1. High SES → Low alienation
2. Low SES → High alienation
3. Open school environment → Low alienation
4. Closed school environment → High alienation
5. Low test anxiety → Low alienation
6. High test anxiety → High alienation
7. High school status → Low alienation
8. Low school status → High alienation
9. High students' status expectations → Low alienation
10. Low students' status expectations → High alienation

In addition, multiple regression analysis was used to ascertain the strength of the relationship between the main independent variables and the dependent variable, alienation.

Family Socioeconomic Status and Alienation

Templeton (1966), Armer (1970), McClosky and Schaar (1969) argue that alienation is inversely related to socioeconomic status. Keniston (1970), however, found that socioeconomic status was positively related to alienation. Analysis of the Ethiopian data shows that 44 percent of the students with low SES parents were highly alienated compared with 43.6 percent

of the students with high SES parents (see Table 5). The difference between the two SES groups was not found to be statistically significant. Thus, the first hypothesis of the study that students from high SES backgrounds are less alienated than students from low SES backgrounds is not upheld.

Table 5

Relationship between Family Socioeconomic Status and Alienation

Socioeconomic Status	Alienation				n	%
	Low		High			
Low	56.0%	(434)	44.0%	(341)	775	54.6
High	56.5%	(364)	43.6%	(281)	645	45.4
Total	56.2%	(798)	43.8%	(622)	1,420	100.0

X^2= .012, df= 1, NS Missing cases = 83

The low association between SES and alienation lends little credence to the argument of Templeton, Armer, and McClosky and Schaar that SES is negatively related to alienation, and equally does not support the findings of Keniston that SES is positively related to alienation. This indicates that it is necessary to look for other factors that are associated with alienation. These factors must be sought both within the school and in the outside environment.

School Environment and Alienation

Hartley (1970) argues that closed high school environments produce significantly more alienated students than relatively open high school environments. As shown in Table 6 the results

obtained from testing the Ethiopian data support Hartley's argument. Fifty percent of the students who perceived the school environment to be closed were highly alienated as compared with 38 percent of the students who perceived the school environment to be open. The relationship between student's perception of the school environment and scores on alienation was found to be statistically significant beyond the .001 level. Thus, the second hypothesis of the study that students who perceived the school environment to be open in student involvement, teacher support, task and achievement orientation are less likely to be alienated than students who perceived the school environment to be closed is supported.

Table 6

Relationship between School Environment (Individual Perception) and Alienation

Type of School Environment	Alienation		n	%
	Low	High		
Closed	50.5% (381)	49.5% (374)	755	51.6
Open	62.4% (442)	37.6% (266	708	48.4
Total	56.3% (823)	43.7% (640)	1,463	100.0

X^2= 20.77, df= 1, p < .001 Missing cases = 40

Similarly, using the mean perception scores of the students as a measure of school environment; 48 percent of the students in closed school environments were found to be highly alienated compared with 40 percent of the students in open school environments. This was found to be significant beyond the .001 level (see Table 7).

Table 7

Relationship between School Environment (Mean Perception Scores) and Alienation

Type of School Environment	Alienation				n	%
	Low		High			
Closed	52.0%	(381)	48.0%	(352)	733	48.8
Open	60.4%	(465)	39.6%	(305)	770	51.2
Total	56.3%	(846)	43.7	(657)	1,503	100.0

$X^2 = 10.46$, df= 1, $p < .001$

Test Anxiety and Alienation

McClosky and Schaar (1969) found that there is a positive correlation between anxiety and alienation. Bock (1970) argued that test anxiety might have intensified student alienation in Malaysian high schools. As shown in Table 8 the results obtained in the Ethiopian case agree with McClosky's and Schaar's findings and Bock's argument. Fifty-two percent of the students who showed a high level of test anxiety were highly alienated as compared with 35 percent of the students who showed a low level of test anxiety. The difference between the two groups was found to be statistically significant beyond the .001 level. These results uphold the third hypothesis of the study that students with high levels of test anxiety are more likely to be alienated than students with low levels of test anxiety.

Table 8

Relationship between Test Anxiety and Alienation

Level of Anxiety	Alienation				n	%
	Low		High			
Low	64.7%	(470)	35.3%	(256)	726	48.3
High	48.4%	(376)	51.6%	(401)	777	51.7
Total	56.3%	(846)	43.7%	(657)	1,503	100.0

X^2 40.10, df= 1, $p < .001$

Institutional Prestige and Alienation

A review of the literature suggests that students from high status institutions are less alienated than students from low status institutions (see Meyer, 1970; Bock, 1970; DuBey, 1972). The Ethiopian data seem to support this argument. As shown in Table 9,, forty-nine percent of the students from low status institutions were highly alienated compared with 38 percent of the students from high status secondary schools. The difference between the two groups was found to be statistically significant beyond the .001 level. Thus the fourth hypothesis of the study that students enrolled in high status schools are less likely to be alienated than students enrolled in low status high schools is sustained.

Table 9

Relationship between
Institutional Prestige and Alienation

Type of School	Alienation				n	%
	Low		High			
Low Status	51.3%	(400)	48.7%	(380)	780	51.9
High Status	61.7%	(446)	38.3%	(277)	723	48.1
Total	56.3%	(846)	43.7%	(657)	1,503	100.0

X^2= 16.09, df= 1, $p < .001$

Students' Status Expectations and Alienation

Future status expectations among potential high school graduates have been cited by many scholars as an underlying factor related to student alienation. For example, Stinchcombe (1964) argues that when students do not see a clear connection between school work and their future work they become alienated. Evidence from Malaysia also indicates that student alienation and anticipation of career blockage are positively related (Bock, 1970). As shown in Table 10 forty-eight percent of the students whose future status expectation was low were highly alienated compared with 39 percent of those students whose future status expectations were high. This was found to be statistically significant beyond the .001 level. Thus the fifth hypothesis of the study that students whose future status expectations are high are less likely to be alienated than students whose future status expectations are low is upheld.

Table 10

Relationship between Students' Status Expectations and Alienation

Perceived Status Expectations	Alienation				n	%
	Low		High			
Low	51.9%	(386)	48.1%	(358)	744	49.5
High	60.6%	(460)	39.4%	(299)	759	50.5
Total	56.3%	(846)	43.7%	(657)	1,503	100.0

$X^2 = 11.27$, df= 1, $p < .001$

To sum up, in this section of the chapter the results of chi-square analyses, described in terms of the study hypotheses,

were presented. Of the five hypotheses, only the first of the study, that students from high SES backgrounds are less alienated than students from low SES backgrounds was not upheld. The other four hypotheses were confirmed beyond the .001 level of statistical significance. Table 11 gives a summary of the mean differences, one tailed probability (independent groups t-test) of the ten groups.

Table 11

Mean Alienation Scores by Family Socioeconomic Status, School Environment, Test Anxiety, Institutional Prestige, and Students' Status Expectations

Groups	n	Mean	Difference (Low-High)	Probability One Tailed
Family Socioeconomic Status				
Low	775	26.6	+ .2	.403
High	645	26.4		
School Environment (Individual perception)				
Closed	755	27.4	+1.8	.000
Open	708	25.6		
School Environment (Mean Perception Scores)				
Closed	733	27.1	+1.2	.000
Open	770	25.9		
Test Anxiety				
Low	726	25.3	-2.3	.000
High	777	27.6		
Institutional Prestige				
Low	813	27.0	+1.0	.000
High	690	26.0		
Students' Status Expectations				
Low	744	27.0	+2.0	.000
High	759	25.0		

As shown above, four of the five working hypotheses are supported. It is worth mentioning, however, that the relationship found could be spurious. Intercorrelation of the independent, dependent, and control variables indicates that the control variables or test factors such as school location, school type, and students' scores on the general ability test are correlated with both the independent variables and the dependent variable (see Desta 1977). Therefore, these alternative alienating forces may have caused a spuriously high association between the independent variables and the dependent variable (for further discussion on test factor analysis see Rosenberg, 1968: 260). In order to ascertain the independent effect of independent variables on the dependent variable, school location, school type, and students' scores on the general ability test will be successively entered in the multivariate analyses that follow. After controlling for school location, school type, and students' scores on the general ability test, if the initial observed difference between the groups is reduced to zero, we would conclude that there was no relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable which was independent of the effects of the control variables.

Before presenting the results of the multivariate analyses, it is worth mentioning that when school type is held constant, because of the small number of respondents in private schools, several empty cells appeared. Hence, only government schools are used as a test factor in exploring whether or not the initial relationship between the dependent and independent variables hold.

Family Socioeconomic Status, Control Variables, and Alienation

As shown in Table 12 none of the control variables have created major shifts in the relationship between SES and alienation. In other urban areas (i.e., population 7,090 to 38,600) 50 percent of the students from low SES backgrounds were highly alienated compared with 49 percent of the students from high SES backgrounds. In the big cities, however, 37 percent of the students from low SES parents were highly alienated compared with 39 percent of the students from high SES parents. When school location is held constant there is a slight shift from what was hypothesized in the big cities, though it was not found to be statistically significant. Similarly, the relationship between SES and alienation remains weak after controlling for school type (i.e., government schools) and students' scores on the aptitude test.

Table 12

Family Socioeconomic Status by Alienation with Controls

List of Controls	Groups	High Alienation			
		%	n	%	n
1. School Location		Big Cities		Other Urban Areas	
	Low SES	36.5	124	49.9	217
	High SES	39.0	133	48.7	148
2. School Type		Government			
	Low SES	44.4	327		
	High SES	44.7	268		
3. Scores on General Ability Test		Low Ability		High Ability	
	Low SES	51.6	196	36.6	143
	High SES	50.6	174	35.5	268

School Environment, Control Variables, and Alienation

When controlled for the three test factors, the hypothesized relation between school environment and alienation is upheld. Only in one instance among low ability students was the association attenuated. As shown in Table 13 controlling for school location in both big cities and other urban areas, students who perceived the school environment to be open were significantly less alienated than students who perceived the school environment to be closed. In government schools there is again a significant negative relation between perception of an open school environment and alienation.

Table 13

School Environment by Alienation with Controls

List of Controls	School Env.	High Alienation			
		%	n	%	n
1. School Location		Big Cities		Other Urban Areas	
	Closed	44.3	153	53.9	221
	Open	30.6	111***	44.9	155***
2. School Type		Government			
	Closed	50.1	362		
	Open	38.2	248***		
3. Scores on General Ability Test		Low Ability		High Ability	
	Closed	52.7	234	45.0	140
	Open	49.8	149	28.6	117***

*** = significant $p < .001$

Finally, controlling for students' scores on the aptitude test, there is a significant negative relation between perception of school environment and alienation for students with high

scores. On the other hand, for students with low scores, there is a statistically nonsignificant negative relation between perception of an open school environment and alienation. Within the low ability group, low intelligence has a confounding effect with students' perception of the school environment to attenuate (though not substantially) the relationship between students' perception of the school environment to be closed and alienation. Specifically, in addition to the perception of the school environment to be closed in terms of student involvement, student-teacher interactions, task and achievement motivations, low ability students could be alienated because they perceived themselves as failures due to their personal shortcomings.

Test Anxiety, Control Variables, and Alienation

In Table 14 the relationship between test anxiety and alienation is examined, controlling for school location, school type, and students' scores on the general ability test. Controlling for school location in both big cities and other urban areas, students who showed high test anxiety were more alienated than students who showed low level of test anxiety. In government schools there is again a significant positive relation between test anxiety and alienation.

Finally, controlling for students' scores on the aptitude test, there is a significant positive relation between test anxiety and alienation for students with high scores, but for students with low scores there is a statistically nonsignificant positive relation between test anxiety and alienation. Although the relationship is weak within the low ability group, the

direction bears out the hypothesis: 54 percent of the students who showed high level of test anxiety are highly alienated compared with 48 percent of those who showed low level of test anxiety. As mentioned above, within the low ability group, low intelligence appears to be confounded with test anxiety to account for high alienation.

Table 14

Test Anxiety by Alienation with Controls

List of Controls	Anxiety	High Alienation			
		%	n	%	n
1. School Location		Big Cities		Other Urban Areas	
	Low	28.2	111	43.7	145
	High	48.8	165***	53.8	236**
2. School Type		Government			
	Low	36.0	239		
	High	51.9	747***		
3. Scores on General Ability Test		Low Ability		High Ability	
	Low	48.0	143	26.4	113
	High	53.6	252	48.5	149***

** = significant $p < .01$
*** = significant $p < .001$

Institutional Prestige, Control Variables, and Alienation

When controlled for school location, school type, and students' scores on the general ability test, the hypothesized relation between institutional prestige and alienation is mainly upheld. As shown in Table 15 controlling for school location in both big cities and other urban areas, students who were enrolled in prestigious urban high schools were less alienated

than students enrolled in low status high schools. This was found to be statistically significant beyond the .001 level. In big cities, 40 percent of those students in low status high schools compared with 37 percent of those students in high status schools were alienated. Although the relationship is not statistically significant the direction bears out the hypothesis.

Table 15

Institutional Prestige by Alienation with Controls

List of Controls	Status	High Alienation			
		%	n	%	n
1. School Location		Big Cities		Other Urban Areas	
	Low	40.0	100	52.4	295
	High	36.5	176	41.3	86**
2. School Type	Low	Government			
	Low	48.9	387		
	High	38.7	240***		
3. Scores on General Ability Test		Low Ability		High Ability	
	Low	53.9	258	41.0	137
	High	47.4	137	31.2	125**

** = significant $p < .01$
*** = significant $p < .001$

An explanation which appears to be possible for the weak relationship observed between institutional prestige and alienation in the big cities is that living in a city can have an independent effect on the attitudes and behaviors of students. For example, Lipset (1968) and Emmerson (1968) argue that students are likely to be more aware of political issues when attending schools located near a political capital. As stated by Emmerson:

> In the capital, the student's proximity to government and opposition, their easy access to political information and commentary and the ready availability of a national audience via the capital centered communication media all tend to facilitate the task of the activist (1968: 398).

Most of the high schools classified as high status institutions in Ethiopia are located either in the capital city, Addis Ababa, or in big cities very close to the capital. Alternately, the close proximity of a college or branch of a university, or active liberation groups as in the case in Eritrea (see Grey, 1970) might provide models for high school students to emulate and contribute to high alienation. A closer examination of the relationship between the location of a high school in a city and alienation should be of value in future research; for the present, the indication is that location of high schools in big cities and the status of high schools do combine to account for the variance in student alienation. Controlling for type of school, there was a significant negative relation between the status of a high school and student alienation. As shown in Table 20, thirty-nine percent of the students in high status institutions, compared with 49 percent of the students in low status institutions were highly alienated. This was found to be statistically significant beyond the .001 level. Finally, controlling for students' scores on the aptitude test, there was a significant negative relation between institutional prestige and alienation for students with high scores, but for students with low scores there was a weak negative relationship between the status of a high school and student alienation. Within the low ability group, low intelligence is combined with

institutional prestige to account for the variance in student alienation. Even though the contribution of low intelligence to the association between institutional prestige and alienation is not substantial (in fact it was significant at the .10 level), it implies that regardless of the quality of the institutions where they are studying, students with low ability can see themselves as failures in a highly competitive society where school achievement plays a great role, thus this self-image of being less academically competent to attain elite status may contribute to students' alienation. However, why students of low ability are prone to alienation is a valuable topic for further research.

Students' Status Expectations, Control Variables, and Alienation

Controlling for school location in both big cities and other urban areas, students with high status expectations are significantly less alienated than students with low status expectations. In government schools, there was again a significant inverse relation between status expectations and alienation.

Finally, controlling for students' scores on the aptitude test there was a significant inverse relation between status expectations and alienation for students with high scores. For students with low scores there was a statistically nonsignificant inverse relation between status expectations and alienation. As discussed above, within the low ability group, low intelligence is again having a combined effect with students' status expectations to account for variance in student alienation (see Table 16).

Table 16

Students' Status Expectations by Alienation with Controls

List of Controls	Status Expectations	High Alienation			
		%	n	%	n
1. School Location		Big Cities		Other Urban Areas	
	Low	41.6	146	53.9	212
	High	34.1	130*	44.7	169**
2. School Type		Government			
	Low	49.0	340		
	High	40.0	287***		
3. Scores on General Ability Test		Low Ability		High Ability	
	Low	54.2	218	40.9	140
	High	48.4	177	31.0	122**

* = significant $p < .05$
** = significant $p < .01$
*** = significant $p < .001$

The Strength of the Relationship between the Independent Variables and the Dependent Variable

So far chi-square and t-test analyses reveal that with the exception of parental socioeconomic status, the other variables--school environment, test anxiety, institutional prestige, students' status expectations--are significantly associated with the dependent variable, alienation. However, we need to establish the strength of the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. In order to find out the strength of the relationship and to judge actual contribution of each variable without confounding it with the effect of other variables a multiple regression analysis is needed (see Table 17).

Table 17

Multiple Regression Predicting Student Alienation
(n = 1394)

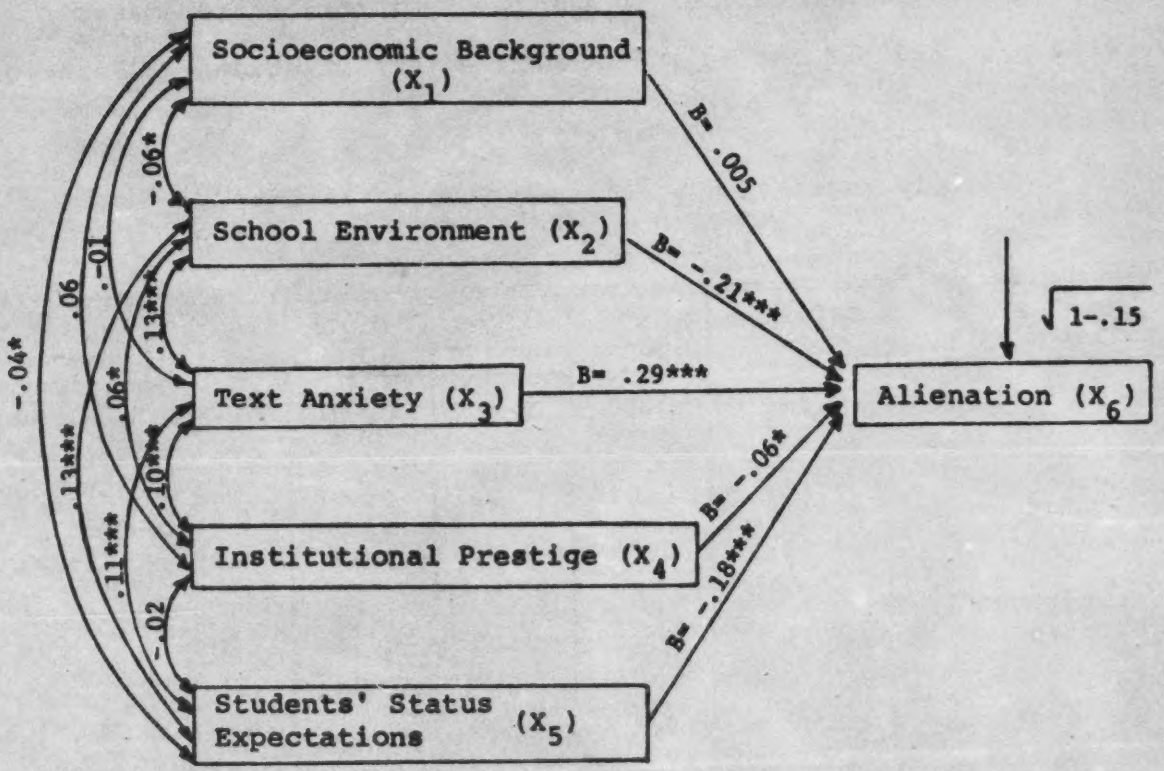
Variable	Multiple R	R Square	RSQ Change	Simple R	Beta	F
Parental SES	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.005	0.04
School Environment[1]	0.19	0.04	0.04	-0.19	-0.21	67.34***
Test Anxiety	0.34	0.12	0.08	0.25	0.29	134.35***
Institutional Prestige	0.35	0.12	0.00	-0.10	-0.06	6.38*
Students' Status Expectations	0.39	0.15	0.03	-0.18	-0.18	54.17***

[1](Individual Perception)

* = significant $p < .05$
*** = significant $p < .001$

As shown in Table 17 parental SES does not have an independent effect on student alienation. The other four predictors--school environment (beta = -.21), test anxiety (beta = .29), institutional prestige (beta = -.06), students' status expectations (beta = -0.18)--have independent effects on the criterion, student alienation. These were found to be statistically significant. Thus, the four best predictors of student alienation in order of importance are: test anxiety, school environment (individual perception), students' status expectations, and institutional prestige. They yield a cumulative R^2 value of .15. The findings of the multiple regression analysis in terms of the analytical model are given in figure 3). When mean perception scores were used as a measure of school environment, how-

Figure 3. The Analytical Model Expressed in Terms of Standardized Regression Coefficients



* = significant at .05 level
** = significant at .01 level
*** = significant at .001 level

B = standardized regression coefficient (Beta)

ever, there was a change in the order of the four best predictors, that is, test anxiety remained the best predictor, followed by students' status expectations, school environment, and institutional prestige (see Table 18 The four predictors yield a cumulative R^2 value of .13. However, it is worth noting that the two multiple regression analyses have again confirmed the conclusion reached earlier on the basis of chi-square analysis that parental SES has no independent effect on student alienation.

Table 18

Multiple Regression Predicting Student Alienation
(n = 1420)

Variable	Multiple R	R Square	RSQ Change	Simple R	Beta	F
Parental SES	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	.002	.009
School Environment[1]	0.18	0.04	0.04	-0.19	-0.15	35.47***
Test Anxiety	0.31	0.09	0.06	0.24	0.25	104.41***
Institutional Prestige	0.31	0.10	0.00	-0.11	-0.05	3.84*
Students' Status Expectations	0.36	0.13	0.03	-0.18	-0.19	55.32***

[1](Mean Perceptions Scores)

* = significant $p < .05$
*** = significant $p < .001$

Summary of Results

In this chapter, the hypotheses generated based on a review of literature were tested using chi-square, t-test, and multiple regression analyses.

Both the chi-square analysis and t-test for independent groups revealed that:

1. There was no significant difference between high SES and low SES students in terms of their scores on alienation.

2. Students who perceived the school environment to be open in student involvement, teacher support, task and achievement orientation were less alienated than students who perceived the school environment to be closed. Controlling for school location, school type, and students' scores on aptitude test, the hypothesized relationship was again maintained, but a weak relationship among the variables was recorded among students who scored low on the aptitude test.

3. Students with a high level of test anxiety were found to be more alienated than students with a low level of test anxiety. Controlling for school location, school type and students' scores on the aptitude test, the hypothesized relationship was again upheld, but for students with low scores on the aptitude test, a weak positive relationship between test anxiety and alienation was observed.

4. Students enrolled in high status high schools were found to be less alienated than students enrolled in low status high schools. When controlled for the three test factors, the same relationship was observed in other urban high schools, in government schools, and among the students who scored high on the aptitude test. In big cities and among the students who scored low on the aptitude test, a weak association between institutional prestige and alienation was observed. Even though

location of high schools in large cities and low ability to some extent reduced the relationship between institutional prestige and alienation, their contribution was not substantial enough to reduce the initial relationship to zero.

5. Students with high status expectations were found to be less alienated than students with low status expectations. The same trend was observed when controlled for school location and type of school and among the students who scored high on the aptitude test. Among the students who scored low on the ability test, however, a weak association between students' status expectations and alienation was observed.

Finally, in order to ascertain the strength of the relationship between the independent variables on the dependent variable, a multiple regression was run. The result revealed that of the five main independent variables, four variables--school environment (both individual perception and mean perception scores), test anxiety, institutional prestige, and students' status expectations--were found to be the best predictors of student alienation. Parental SES had no independent effect on student alienation and added nothing to the regression equation.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to be drawn from the above findings are that while Ethiopian high school students do not appear to be alienated because of parental socio-economic status, institutional factors of the education system and future status and employment expectations seem to have a significant relationship to student alienation. Student alienation in Ethiopian high schools can thus be viewed as the outcome of institutional factors which inhere in the functions of the high schools and the future employment prospects of school graduates. In other words, Ethiopian high school students seem to be alienated for the following reasons:

1. Students are alienated when they perceive the school environment to be closed. A closed school environment was defined as one in which the students felt low student involvement, teacher support, and task and achievement orientation.

In Ethiopian high schools the students are not allowed to participate in classroom discussions or decision-making that affect their lives in the schools. Teachers are too distant and seem to show little concern about the academic welfare of their students. An illustration of this fact is that since the introduction of the shift system in Ethiopian secondary schools, teachers have been required to teach six periods continuously either in the morning or in the afternoon shift. The exhaustion which teachers experience as a result of such continuous teaching has weakened student-teacher interaction to a great extent and has made teachers less accessible to their students. Furthermore, the fact that teachers are free either in the morning or afternoon has given the majority of the teachers in the big cities an opportunity to look for other part time jobs and they have become less concerned about their regular assignments (see Abebe, 1971).

In addition to the above stated factors, the fact that most high schools in Ethiopia are ill-equipped in terms of teaching materials, study halls, and that the teachers are not highly qualified have made the school environments less conducive to learning, lowered the task and achievement orientations of the student, and intensified student alienation.

2. Students are also alienated by the mass failure of students in the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination. As shown in Table 19 in each of the academic years, 1965 to 1973, the percentage of student failure was 87, 87, 78, 73, 81, 82, 81, 79, and 77 respectively.

Table 19

Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination Results (1965 - 1973)

Year	Total Number of Students	No. of Passes	% of Failure
1965	2,793	407	87.4
1966	3,821	490	87.2
1967	2,294	506	77.9
1968	2,702	719	73.4
1969	3,852	738	80.8
1970	4,751	836	82.4
1971	5,263	994	81.2
1972	7,282	1,504	79.4
1973	8,055	1,847	77.2

Source:
Compiled from School Census 1965/66 - 1972/73, see also Teshome, 1971.

Thus, the fact that the E.S.L.C.E. is a highly competitive and anxiety producing screening device used to select students for university admission, other post secondary training institutions, and also used by prospective employers has intensified student alienation to a great extent in Ethiopian secondary schools.

3. Students in inferior institutions are alienated because they are aware of the fact that individual worth in the Ethiopian society is primarily measured by one's success in a competitive educational system, and they know that these low status high schools are not going to confer them future high status occupations. The fact that these schools are ill-equipped and have a higher incidence of student failures in the school leaving certificate examination has made the students in these second-class institutions perceive the school environment as hostile to their mobility and contributed to their alienation.

4. Students, with low future status expectations are alienated because they can clearly see that students who graduated before them are still looking for jobs. (For instance, in 1974, about 25 percent of the students who completed high school were either unemployed or did not get admission to higher educational institutions.) This makes them feel that getting a high school certificate is not going to lead to future employment and upward mobility. The poor employment situation in the country, in conjunction with feeling of future lack of prospects among potential high school graduates can make the students feel cheated by their schools which raised their aspirations and the society which failed to fulfill their employment aspirations. Thus, this can set the stage for student alienation and a rejection of the school authorities and the larger political system can cause the students to feel that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by shaking up the status quo (see Lipset, 1967; Emmerson, 1968).

Implications for Policy

Some of the policy implications which can be drawn from the above conclusions are:

1. In the absence of student participation in classroom discussions and involvement in decisions that affect their lives in schools, students will tend to reject the authority structure and become engaged in dissent as a response to their feelings of alienation. It appears to be essential, then, to involve students in decisions that affect their lives. High school directors need to include student representatives in faculty meetings and in the making of rules and decisions that affect students. School administrators also need to listen to student demands and take corrective action and make adjustments in the face of legitimate student demands, by undertaking in good faith the academic and other educational reforms that deeply concern the students. Students need to be encouraged to assume responsibility and make decisions. Necessary conditions for learning these skills are allowing students to have their student unions and granting decision-making powers in the school to student representatives. These would serve not only the distribution of power in the schools, but also might facilitate communication between the students and the school authorities. Teachers need to involve students in classroom discussions and encourage cooperative learning.

Improvement in teacher-student interaction could be facilitated by the adoption of new definitions of the teacher's role in relation to students. Teachers need to accept students as

co-workers and see themselves as a part of the classroom and not seek to control and relegate students to preplanned lessons. If implemented, these suggestions may make the school environment conducive to learning and reduce alienation, however, school administrators and teachers need to be sensitive to student demands. Training in decision-making skills and organization for collective actions is essential for school administrators and teachers.

2. The study indicates that the school leaving certificate examination is intensifying student alienation. Other studies have shown that the E.S.L.C.E. is a poor predictor of student success at the university. As stated by Teshome: ". . . E.S.L.C.E. as it stands now is at best a poor predictor of success in H.S.I.U. It is discriminatory among the several provinces and it favors the urban oriented student at the expense of the rural one (where 92 percent of the Ethiopians are found)" (1971: 37, 38). It appears, then that if student alienation is to be reduced, the national examination given at the end of grade twelve must be abolished and replaced by a combination of teacher recommendations and student performance in community affairs and extra curricular activities. This suggestion can help teachers to adapt their instructional program to fit into local needs and local conditions. High schools would also be able to produce versatile students who have integrated the study of academic subjects with work experience in actual life situations. Furthermore, under the suggested system, the number of students who might get ad-

mission into the university is likely to increase, and this might reduce the test anxiety level among high school students. However, it is worth emphasizing that the feasibility of this suggestion depends on the expansion of the university and other higher education institutions to accommodate those students who might qualify under the suggested plan.

3. Low standing high schools need to be fully equipped with libraries, laboratories, and staffed with highly qualified teachers like the prestigious institutions. This can be accomplished by allocating extra budget resources, assigning university graduates, and halting the transferral of highly qualified and experienced teachers from the inferior institutions to the most privileged institutions. However, if extra budget allowances cannot be secured from the government to hire additional teachers and buy educational resources, an alternative way of equalizing all the existing high schools is to nationalize the schools and redistribute the available school facilities and reassign the teachers.

4. The bleak future employment status expectations of high school students could be partially solved if the educational program were properly articulated with the manpower needs of the country. This, however, requires a long range forecast of the economy and a tailoring of the educational program to meet the manpower requirements. Furthermore, it should be made clear that manpower forecasting should not be an isolated exercise as it is being practiced in the different ministries in Ethiopia, but should be centrally controlled and must be an integral part of the planned economic and social system.

The government needs to place restrictions in the employment of foreign personnel. Priority should be given to educated unemployed nationals. For instance, in 1970-71, fifty percent (i.e., 2,101) of all foreign work permit holders had secondary schooling or less, when more than 2,400 Ethiopians who had educational qualifications above primary level were registered as unemployed with the Addis Ababa employment office (see Blaug, 1973: 80).

Productive employment opportunities for school leavers could be created by using capital saving technology, sponsoring labor-intensive rural development projects (e.g., building dams, feeder roads, afforestation programs, etc.) and by employing high school graduates to work in rural areas as primary school teachers, agricultural extension workers, and community development workers after they have attended short training courses for these jobs (see also Abernethy, 1969: 283). Some of these suggestions might bring temporary relief to the existing unemployment situation among school leavers in the country; however, if a permanent solution is desired, the economy has to expand sufficiently to provide employment opportunities for school leavers.

Finally, it is essential to bear in mind that the above suggested solutions such as the manipulation of the power structure of the school, abolition of the existing national examination, and tailoring the educational program to the manpower needs of the country may reduce student alienation in Ethiopian high schools; however, if a permanent solution to student alienation

is desired, manipulating the educational system alone is not sufficient. Since the educational system is a subsystem of the larger social, political, and economic system, changing the educational system cannot effect permanent change in the total system. For instance, as suggested above, students in Ethiopian high schools might be involved in classroom discussions and allowed to have a say in decision-making processes. These changes in the management of the educational institutions might delay student alienation. However, it is worth emphasizing that these changes affect only one of the factors influencing student alienation. If the present economic system does not expand sufficiently to provide employment opportunities for high school graduates and this is not accompanied by a change in the employment policy, then it is inevitable that Ethiopian students will exhibit alienated attitudes and rebellious behavior. Moreover, as suggested above, changes in the educational program to better match graduates to employers needs may reduce the level of unemployment among high school graduates and partly solve alienation of students. But a permanent solution to the existing problem may not emerge within the existing economic and political system in the country. Some cases in point are, from 1942 to the early sixties, the students who graduated from Ethiopian high

schools were automatically absorbed into the administrative machinery of the state. With such employment conditions graduates were offered elito status and high salaries, and enjoyed a relatively high standard of living. For instance, in the 1960's the starting salary for a high school graduate was Eth. $200 per month. However, the estimated per capita income in the country was Eth. $143 per annum. To some extent government offices used educational qualification as a means of recruiting personnel. In fact, according to rules of the Ethiopian Government Personnel Agency, entry into the wage sector was almost entirely dependent on the amount of schooling completed. No advertisement of a government job opening was without stipulation as to the minimum schooling necessary for the applicant. Thus high school graduates had two choices, either to go to the university or to work for a while in order to earn wages.

Starting in the late sixties, though less than 4.5 percent of the school age population was in Ethiopian secondary schools, the number of secondary school graduates from both government and non-government secondary schools doubled from 4,751 in 1969/70 to 8,055 in 1972/73. On the other hand, the rate of economic growth of GDP declined from 4.8 per cent in 1963-68 to 3.6 per cent in 1968-73. Agriculture, which is the mainstay of the economy grew at the rate of 2.1 per cent per annum over the last ten years (see for example, Blaug, 1973). Thus, due to the tight economic situation the country was facing for the years 1963-73 and to the fact that the government which used to be the major employer of high school graduates seemed to have reached the saturation point, many

high school leavers began to experience increasing difficulty in obtaining employment commensurate with the credentials they held. Moreover, the graduates were not able to get employment with the private secotrs of the economy because the investors were heavily dependent on capital intensive and labour displacing technology.

Starting in 1961 with assistance from U.S.A.I.D. and I.D.A. loans, many academic secondary schools were converted into comprehensive secondary schools with the sole aim that graduates from these schools be employed locally. However, available evidence indicates that graduates from these schools have not been able to secure jobs within their immediate localities. For instance, when the first group of some 41 commercial and industrial arts students graduated from the Woizero Sihen Comprehensive Secondary School in Dessie in 1964, not one had found employment in Dessie. In another provincial school out of the 106 commercial and 120 industrial arts students who graduated form 1965 to 1971, only seven were employed locally (see Gareau, 1971; Abebe et. al., 1970; Desta 1971) This is a clear indication that the comprehensive school movement of the 1960's did not contribute to student employment as expected. Moreover, there is little evidence that these schools had created employment opportunities for the graduating students in the capital city. The examples presented below show that secondary schools were producing more credentialled unemployed graduates on the labour market.

In 1968, out of 937 graduates from training institutions, about 354 were employed by both the government and private organizations and the remaining 583 were actively looking for jobs. In 1971, over 2,400 persons who had educational qualifications above elementary level were registered as unemployed with the

Addis Ababa Employment Office. These included more than 245 comprehensive secondary level graduates. On the other hand, fifty percent (i.e., 2,101) of all foreign work permit holders in the country had secondary or less schooling. (See Blaug, 1973)

Taking those who were registered with the Addis Ababa Employment Office, Blaug shows that in 1973 about 16 percent from vocational and academic streams of secondary schools were actively looking for jobs (1973 :65,66). Blaug's estimate does not cover the whole picture. First, it does not take into account those registered with the employment offices in Asmara and Dire Dawa. Second, it does not include high school graduates who were not registered with the employment offices.

As mentioned earlier, in 1972/73, out of 8,055 grade twelve students who sat for the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination, only 23 percent were qualified to enter the university. Given the fact that about 77 percent of the students had failed the E.S.L.C. Examination, based on experience, we can roughly estimate on the basis of existing trends that 4,000 of the remaining 77 per cent could get jobs, or join the teacher training institutes, other training institutes (nursing, telecommunication, etc,), and nondegree institutions (i.e., junior colleges). Thus, around 25 percent of the high school graduates in 1974 were unemployed. Moreover, given the fact that some school leavers from previous years were unemployed and were actively seeking jobs in 1974, then we can say that in the Ethiopian economy the supply of manpower at the secondary level has outstripped demand, contributing to a high proportion of educated unemployed, resulting in a latent contradiction on the

economic base. Due to the lack of employment statistics by sector of economic activity and occupational skills, it is very difficult to assess the magnitude of unemployment among secondary school graduates in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia. Moreover, even though employment offices existed in Addis Ababa, Asmara, and Dire Dawa, either because secondary school leavers were not aware of the existence of such offices or because of communication problems, many of the secondary school graduates actively seeking jobs did not register with the employment offices. However, the above cited evidence suggests that the incidence of actual unemployment among secondary school graduates was a real problem in Ethiopia. It was a real problem for school leavers who had failed the Twelfth Grade National Examination. After observing the unemployed high school graduates who went before them, students who were enrolled in school had come to doubt the widely held myth that schooling in Ethiopian society would lead to future employment and social mobility. As Levine has pointed out: "the rapid filling of jobs by the educated youth and steadily growing numbers of unemployed youth began to create anxieties about finding work in the future" (1965: 146).

Moreover, it could be argued that since the construction of the comprehensive secondary schools was expensive because construction of the classrooms had to meet international specifications at a cost a number of times higher than that of classrooms built to some suitable local standard, they left the country dependent on foreign assistance and loans. For instance, foreign sources provided 28 per cent of the financial input to education in Ethiopia, compared with 10 per cent in the case of Kenya and three per cent in the case of Tanzania (see ter Weele, 1973). Thus, if basic change is desired, a commitment to social change will have to precede educational change (for example see Carnoy & Levin, 1976).

Current limitations and suggestions for future study

In addition to some of the research topics suggested in Chapter 3, in this section of the paper some limitations of the study and a number of related research studies will be suggested.

1. Following Foster's (1970) suggestion that in the African setting the level of parental education is the most useful single predictor that can be used in analyzing the socio-economic background of students, in this study much emphasis was given to parental education in assessing the socio-economic background of the respondents. Indeed, in Ethiopia, particularly in the urban areas, education plays a great role in stratifying individuals into the various elite status positions and economic privileges. For instance, those few Ethiopians who have managed to graduate from the university and some of the

prestigious high schools have gained access to the administrative machinery. These graduates have used the state apparatus to gain influence in both the private and the public sector of the economy. "Being a small social group and the product of a narrow institutional process, living congregated in a few urban centres and having in common the same occupation and employer, most members are personally familiar with one another and social intercourse among them is intensive" (Markakis, 1973: 368).

However, in the rural areas until the nationalization of land in 1975, wealth and status depended on control over land. For instance, in the northern part of Ethiopia, even though land was in the hands of the kinship groups and most of the peasants had their plots of land, the traditional nobility who had large estates enjoyed special status and power in their local areas. Similarly in the southern part of Ethiopia, the northern Christians who annexed the land toward the end of the nineteenth century and the indigenous elite who became loyal to the central government were rewarded with status positions, given titles to the previously communally owned land, and were exempted from paying taxes (see Markakis, 1973). Hence, since the study was conducted in 1973, that is, before the nationalization of land in Ethiopia, land ownership, if included, might have served as a useful indicator in assessing the socioeconomic status of the respondents.

2. As pointed out in Chapter 2, it was the plan of the study to include sex, religion, ethnicity, and peer group influence as control variables, but since Addis Ababa Testing Center data did not contain information on respondents' sex,

religion, ethnicity, or peer group influence, these variables were not included in the test factor analysis. Future research should include these variables as test factors in studying student alienation.

3. Anderson and Walberg have suggested that in assessing the school environment it is better to use individual students' perceptions of the environment than to use a short-term observer's report. They state that the student is a better source because:

> Compared with a short-term observer, he weights in his judgment not only the class as it presently is but how it has been since the beginning of the year. He is able to compare from the child-client point of view his class with those in past grades or perhaps with others he is presently taking or even of other small groups of which he is a member. He and his classmates form a group of 20 to 30 sensitive, well-informed judges of the class; an outside observer is a single judge who has far less data and, though highly trained and systematic, may be insensitive to what is important in a particular class (1974: 86).

Following their suggestion, this study has used students' self-reports about the various attributes of their schools as a measure of the school environment. In addition, to avoid "perceptual tendency" mean perception scores were computed for the fifty-three schools in the study. However, it might be worthwhile to use observation techniques in measuring the school environment dimension.

3. In conjunction with the use of student performance in the School Leaving Certificate Examination as a measure of institutional prestige, a direct measure of school quality in terms of per student expenditure, the educational qualification of teachers, and student-teacher ratio might lead to a more refined procedure for assessing the status of high schools.

Finally, the basic limitation of this study is that it is based on a "one shot" cross-sectional study of institutional and other environmental effects on student alienation. To estimate the impact of different institutions on student alienation, it would have been essential to study changes in students as they progressed through the different school environments and the use of information collected from the same students over time while they are in schools and after they have graduated from high schools. Thus for those who are interested in this kind of research, it is recommended that they undertake a longitudinal study instead of the cross-sectional study that characterized this research.

Theoretical Implication of the Study

What light does this study shed on the understanding of student alienation?

From the outset, the research was concerned in part, with attempting to overcome some of the problems of previous investigations, especially in the developing countries, in the area of political socialization. As discussed in Chapter 1, most traditional studies of political socialization have mainly concerned themselves with political norms learned in schools. The intent of most of these studies has been to assess whether or not school children identify themselves with the national community, the regime, the government. These studies have stressed the importance of childhood and adolescent socialization for the persistence of the status quo. Little attention has been given to student dissent or student alienation.

With the emergence of student unrest and student alienation in the 1960s, psychologists for their part tried to identify psychological and personality factors associated with student alienation. As sociologists have been concerned with social conditions associated with student alienation, political scientists have preferred to study political events and institutional effects. Little effort has been spent to comprehend student alienation by integrating the psychological, sociological, and historical approaches. Despite the limitations enumerated above, this study has tried to link psychological (that is, students' perception of the school environment, test anxiety, students' status expectations), sociological (parental socio-economic status, school environment (mean perception scores), and institutional prestige), and some historical factors associated with student alienation in Ethiopian high schools. (For details on the historical analyses of student unrest in Ethopia, see Desta, 1977 and 1979). This approach raises important implications for both the conceptualization of political socialization research and for studies of the role of the educational establishment in understanding student alienation.

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